

Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, PINT, EGEN, UR
SUBJECT: LENINGRAD VERSION OF ANDROPOV'S PETROZAVODSK
SPEECH

1. THERE WERE SOME INTRIGUING DIFFERENCES IN THE SUMMARY OF POLITBURO MEMBER ANDROPOV'S AUGUST 5 SPEECH IN PETROZAVODSKON THE OCCASION OF THE CITY'S 200TH ANNIVERSARY, AS PRINTED THE NEXT DAY ON PAGE ONE OF LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA AND PAGE TWO OF PRAVDA. WE WILL LEAVE IT TO EMBASSY TO ANALYZE THE SPEECH ITSELF, AND TO DECIDE WHETHER THE ADDITIONS AND OMISSIONS TO BE FOUND IN BOTH PAPERS REPRESENT MERELY ARBITRARY EDITORIAL CUTS, E.G., TO SHORTEN THE TEXT, OR POSSIBLY REFLECT DIFFERING VIEWS ON, E.G., HOW TO PORTRAY U.S. POLICY BETWEEN ANDROPOV AND HIS POLITBURO COLLEAGUE FROM LENINGRAD, ROMANOV.

2. THE FOLLOWING DIFFERENCES WERE NOTED BETWEEN THE TWO SUMMARIES:

-- LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA OMITTED OVER 12 INCHES FROM PRAVDA VERSION, FIRST COLUMN SECOND PARAGRAPH BEGINNING "KAZHDIY GOROD..." THROUGH EIGHTH PARAGRAPH ENDING "...

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SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA," IN WHICH ANDROPOV SUMMARIZES HISTORY OF PETROZAVODSK, DESCRIBED AS "BASIC INDUSTRIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER" WHICH PLAYS "IMPORTANT ROLE IN ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TIES WITH NORTHERN REGIONS OF RUSSIA."

-- IN SECOND COLUMN AT END OF SECOND PRAVDA PARAGRAPH

ENDING WITH "...ZAVOYEVANIYA SOTSIALIZMA," LENINGRADSKAYA

PRAVDA HAS INCLUDED FOLLOWING PASSAGE, EVIDENTLY DROPPED BY PRAVDA, WHICH SOMEWHAT CHILLS PRECEEDING SENTENCE ON PROMOTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN NATIONS. BEGIN QUOTE: AN IRRECONCILABLE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL MANIFESTATIONS AND SURVIVALS OF NATIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM, AGAINST TENDENCIES TO NATIONALIST NARROW-MINDEDNESS AND EXCLUSIVE-NESS, TO AN IDEALIZATION OF THE PAST AND SUPPRESSION OF SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE, AGAINST CUSTOMS AND ATTITUDES OBSTRUCTING COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION -- THIS IS AN UNALTERABLE PRINCIPLE OF THE NATIONALITY POLICY OF THE PARTY. END QUOTE.

-- LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA OMITTED THIRD AND FOURTH PARAS OF COLUMN TWO PRAVDA TEXT HAILING HEROISM OF RUSSIAN AND KARELIAN SOLDIERS AND PARTISANS IN WWII AND MIRACULOUS WAY PETROZAVODSK RAISED ITSELF UP FROM RUINS AFTER THE WAR.

-- LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA ADDED FOLLOWING SENTENCE AT END OF LAST PARA IN PRAVDA'S SECOND COLUMN AFTER "...MATERIALNYKH SREDSTV," SOMEWHAT QUALIFYING PREVIOUS PASSAGE WHICH, IN EFFECT, WARNED AGAINST TRYING TO FULFILL ECONOMIC PLANS, AS IN THE PAST, "AT ANY PRICE." BEGIN QUOTE: THE ESSENCE OF INCREASED EFFICIENCY LIES IN BEING ABLE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TRULY THRIFTLY, TO USE THE IMMEASURABLY INCREASING POSSIBILITIES AND SUPERIORITY OF OUR ECONOMY, THE VERY RICH EXPERIENCE ACCUMULATED OVER SIX DECADES, THE KNOWLEDGE AND ABILITY OF OUR SUPERB CADRES, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION. END QUOTE.

-- AT END OF NEXT PARA ENDING IN PRAVDA WITH "...TRUDOVOI KOLLEKTIV," LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA ALSO INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING RATHER GRATUITOUS, SELF-HORTATORY SENTENCE. BEGIN QUOTE: AND OF COURSE THIS IS PRECISELY THE CHIEF CONCERN OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS, OF EACH COMMUNIST. END QUOTE.

-- LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA THEN DROPPED THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH WHICH AGAIN PRAISED THE "TRIED AND TEMPERED" PARTY ORGANIZATION OF KARELIA FOR "LEADING PEOPLE ALONG THE TRUE PATH INDICATED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE."

-- IN ITS MOST INTRIGUING OMISSION, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA DROPPED ALMOST 12 INCHES OF SECTION WHICH BEGAN WITH THIRD PARA FROM BOTTOM OF PRAVDA'S THIRD COLUMN IN WHICH ANDROPOV BEGINS SPECULATING AT LENGTH ON WHY U.S.

ADMINISTRATION IS INCLINED TO GIVE WAY BEFORE PRESSURE OF ENEMIES OF DETENTE, AND CONCLUDES WITH FIFTH PARA IN COLUMN FOUR WHICH ENDS WITH "...REAKSIONNYM SILAM." LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA SIMPLY SUMMARIZED THIS WHOLE PASSAGE WITH COMMENT THAT ANDROPOV HAD NOTED TENDENCY OF U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO GIVE WAY BEFORE PRESSURE OF OPPONENTS OF DETENTE -- AS LEAD INTO STATEMENT: "THEN COMRADE ANDROPOV SAID, "KONECHNO V NASHE VREMYA..."

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3. THE TWO NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF THE MEETING IN LENINGRAD ON AUGUST 5 OF ANDROPOV AND ROMANOV WERE ESSENTIALLY IDENTICAL (BEYOND SOME ADDITIONAL DETAILS BY LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA ON WHO MET ROMANOV AT AIRPORT AND WHAT HE VISITED) AND EQUALLY UNENLIGHTENING.

4. WE OBVIOUSLY DO NOT KNOW WHETHER FINAL LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA TEXT WAS SEEN BY ANDROPOV BEFORE PUBLICATION, AND THEREFORE REFLECTED EMPHASIS HE APPROVED FOR LENINGRAD, OR CONTAINED SOME EDITORIAL LICENSE REFLECTING SOMEWHAT DIFFERING VIEWS OF LENINGRAD LEADERSHIP. IN CONSIDERING THESE ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES, SOME POINTS MAY BE WORTH NOTING.

-- GIVEN PETROZAVODSK'S CLOSE LINKS TO AND DEPENDENCE IN SOME WAYS ON LENINGRAD ECONOMY, ONE MIGHT EXPECT THAT TIES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WOULD ALSO BE CLOSE, AND THAT ROMANOV MIGHT EXERT INFLUENCE IN KARELIA. IN FACT, ANDROPOV'S MUCH CLOSER TIES TO PETROZAVODSK GO BACK TO EVE OF WWII WHEN HE HEADED KARELIA'S KOMSOMOL

ORGANIZATION; DURING WAR HE FOUGHT AS PARTISAN IN KARELIA;
IN 1944 HE BECAME SECOND SECRETARY OF PETROZAVODSK'S
PARTY COMMITTEE AND IN 1977 OF KARELIA'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
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PICTURES OF HIM VISITING KARELIA ARE TO BE SEEN IN MANY
PLACES THERE. IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE, THEREFORE, THAT
DELETION OF REFERENCES TO PETROZAVODSK'S LEADERSHIP ROLE
AND SELF-SERVING PRAISE OF KARELIAN PARTY LEADERSHIP
REFLECTED A CRITICAL VIEW BY LENINGRAD OFFICIALS OF
PETROZAVODSK LEADERS AND THEIR ASPIRATIONS. CONCEIVABLY,
EVEN ONE OF ANDROPOV'S PURPOSES IN VISITING LENINGRAD
AFTER PETROZAVODSK WAS TO DISCUSS KARELIA'S DEVELOPMENT
PLANS AND SOLICIT MORE COOPERATION FROM LENINGRAD.

-- ANDROPOV'S ARBATOV-SOUNDING DISCUSSION OF WHAT
MIGHT LIE BEHIND U.S. POLICY VACILLATION WAS CERTAINLY
MORE NUANCED THAN THE USUAL DOCTRINAIRE FARE FED THE
LENINGRAD PUBLIC ABOUT THE U.S. -- AND MIGHT HAVE BEEN
CORRESPONDINGLY CONSIDERED EXPENDABLE BY LENINGRAD LEADER-
SHIP ON THOSE GROUNDS.

-- IT IS EASIER TO UNDERSTAND WHY LENINGRADSKAYA
PRAVDA CHOSE TO INCLUDE TWO SENTENCES WHICH GAVE HARSHER
TONE TO PRECEDING PARAGRAPHS THAN WHY PRAVDA CHOSE TO OMIT
THEM.

-- A FINAL POINT CONCERNS THE "FACTUAL EQUALITY"
AND "BROTHERLY UNITY OF NATIONS" IN KARELIA HAILED SO
ENTHUSIASTICALLY BY ANDROPOV. HE MADE NO ALLUSION IN HIS
HISTORICAL REVIEW TO LOSS BY KARELIA AFTER THE WAR FIRST
OF VYBORG AND OTHER FORMER FINNISH AREAS AND THEN IN 1965
OF ITS UNION REPUBLIC STATUS. AND IT WAS CLEAR TO THIS
RECENT VISITOR TO PETROZAVODSK THAT LITTLE REMAINS OF
FINNISH CULTURE BEYOND THE ROAD SIGNS, A FINNISH-LANGUAGE
THEATER, TWO FINNISH-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS PRIMARILY FOR
FOREIGN FINNISH CONSUMPTION, AND SOME 20 STUDENTS STUDYING
LITERATURE IN FINNISH IN A UNIVERSITY OF 6,000. WHILE
CITY OFFICIALS CLAIM 20-30 PERCENT OF POPULATION ARE
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FINNS, KARELIANS AND VEPSY, STATISTICS IN PETROZAVODSK
MUSEUM SHOW THAT THESE PEOPLE AMOUNTED TO ONLY 112,700 OR
15.8 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION IN THE 1970 CENSUS, WHEREAS
KARELIANS ALONE CONSTITUTED 60 PERCENT OF KARELIA IN 1920.
COMMUNIST THEORETICIANS COULD, OF COURSE, CITE THESE SAME
FIGURES FAVORABLY AS PROOF OF THE THEORY OF EVENTUAL MER-

GER (SLIYANIY) OF NATIONAL MINORITIES WITHIN THE RUSSIAN
FAMILY. BUCHANAN

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